WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE SLAVEHOLDING CLASS DOMINANT IN THE REPUBLIC.

SPEECH OF WILLIAM H. SEWARD At Detroit, October 2, 1866.

Frillow-Cirizens: The process of empirebuilding in the United States is in some respects new and peculiar. We had not here a State which was compact and complete at its beginning, and we have not conquered other nations or planted colonies, near or distant, to be held as dependencies by force alone. On the contrary, we had a broad foundation laid, upon which were raised at first only thirteen columns, a portion of an indefinite number, which were to be erected during a long future, all of one to the slaveholding class, entered largely into material and equal strength, and all to be com-bined inseparably, according to one great origi-

New States, ultimately to become members of the Federal Union, pass through stages of unorganized colonization, and of dependence and pupilage under the Federal Government, or that some foreign Power, and receive their biases and even form their social institutions during those early stages. Nevertheless, so intimate is the union of all these States, that each exerts no measured influence upon every other, while the fortune of every one is inseparably involved

You will infer at once from these statements that the nature and character of the institutions, of even any one maturing Territory in the United States, are subjects of the highest and possibly even vital importance. That, although caprice and oppression may be harmlessly practired by other nations upon their provinces and colonies, yet such wrongs, committed by our Federal Government against our growing Territories, are equally injurious to those Territories, and dangerous, if not disastrous, to the whole Republic.

sion, that the slaveholding class of the American people is systematically and successfully per-verting the administration of the Government, especially in regard to the Territories, so as to change the Constitution, and endanger the sta-bility, welfare, and liberty of the Union.

First, insomuch as this proposition must seem to you bold, if not new, I shall show from general principles that it may possibly be true; and, secondly, I shall establish its truth by undenia-

First. The proposition may be true. Property is an essential element of civil society. So is liberty, which, properly understood, is only the security of all citizens against oppression. How to adjust the balance between property and liberty in States, is the great problem of government. Property is always jealous of enlarged liberty, and especially so when it is based on relations subversive of natural justice, which is nothing more than equality among men. Property, therefore, has always a bias towards oppression, and it derives power to oppress from bine. Liberty is exposed to the danger of such oppression by means of the inconsiderateness and the jealousies which habitually prevail the property classes sympathize with each other through the force of common instincts of fear, cupiday, and ambition, and are easily marshal-ed under the lead of one which becomes dominant, and represents the whole. Wherever the rights and duties of the property classes are defined and regulated, with sufficient constraints to prevent oppression, and liberty is at the same time so bounded as to secure property against social or individual aggression, there the people are free and the State is republican. Where this balance is not accurately adjusted, liberty is abridged, and a property class administers the where the same. It is therefore possible tha social and political errors and evils, which have

zen then dared to pronounce a series of abstracpresence of nations, that "all men are created inalienable rights" of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" and that "Governments are instituted among men to secure thos

consent of the governed. The Convention which framed the Constituletter bearing the signature of George ton, in which its character was defined with of the Union, in which is involved our prosperi was exercised were only those of inferior may nitude, and that neither prosperity, felicity, safput at hazard for the preservation of a mer majestic, and comprehensive, "To form a broke the very mainsprings of aristocracy, or at no title of nobility shall be granted by the nent of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise twenty persons was a slaveholder-and so they selves of caste and class-yet they pertinaciously sed to recognise either, and, on the contrary ognising only men. While they aimed at an of hardly less grave importance—namely, whethbuilt upon it, by authorizing Congress to proindividual States the management of the domes-individual States the management of the domes-tic relations of all classes and castes existing for its chairman Mr. Robert M. T. Hunter, also

obibited "excessive bail and excessive fines, all of whom are denouncers of that agitation

from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due;" and that "representatives and taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which shall be included with in this Union, according to their respective num-bers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including and Mr. Dodge, of Wisconsin, who is its chair-those bound to service for a term of years, and man. But this equality is in part accidental. excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all

It is manifest that Congress cannot, without violating the rights of the people reserved by their Constitution, grant any favor or privilege or advantage to the slaveholding class, or even ordain or permit Slavery to exist within the ex-clusive sphere of the Federal jurisdiction.

The spirit of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution of the United States, thus flagrantly hostile to classes, and especially the contemporaneous Constitutions and laws of most of the States. All of them established re-publican forms of Government. Most of them sserted the political equality of men. All of them prohibited orders of nobility and ecclesiastical classes, estates in mortmain, and estates by primogeniture. Seven States immediately or speedily prohibited Slavery, and all of the others earnestly debated the same great and benign reform. Finally, though unable thus early to

I think, fellow-citizens, that I have shown to your abundant satisfaction that such a direction of the Administration to the establishment and aggrandizement of the slaveholding class, as I have charged, if it indeed exists, is a perversion of the Constitution of the United States. Seventy years of our national history have been fulfilled. Fix your attention for a moment now on the slaveholding class, as it now exists. Although it has been abolished by State legislation in seven of the first thirteen States, and alhough nine free States which exclude it have been since admitted into the Union, yet the tures," "on Agriculture," and "on the Militia' slaveholding class nevertheless stands erect and have charge of public interests which have lo

rom the State, and with it freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of the ballot-box, freedom of education, freedom of literature, and reedom of popular assemblies. Thus established by municipal institutions, the slaveholding among subjects or citizens. In every State, all thirty of the sixty-two members of the Senate,

> see, that although it is sadly wanting in the elements of industry and enterprise which distinguish the hundred cities of the free States, yet tion. You remember his history. He had been equally obscure among civilians and generals, class to suppress debate on its high

This broad highway is Pennsylvania avenue; it leads between stately store-houses and dwellings, occupied by slaveholders with their slaves, groves embellished with statues and fountains, and enter the Senate Chamber. The Senate is dors, deputed by thirty-one equal States. It is august by reason of its functions. It is an Execute august by reason of its functions. It is an Execute by Mr. Collamer of Vermont, and Mr. ntive Council, and exercises a negative voice on all appointments to all places of trust, honor, or profit, in the Republic, and a negative also on all reaties of the Republic with foreign nations. As a Court of Impeachments it tries all political crimes committed by public agents, and as a experience, and dignity, of its members, together with the facility for transacting business which t derives from the smallness of its numbers, has enabled it to become the dominating political power in the Republic. The chair belongs to the ice President of the United States. He who You remember him. He was chosen from a slave State. The Senate elected in his place David R. Atchison, You know him well. He is chief statesman and captain in the usurpation and conquest recently effected by the slavehold-

on the relations of the country towards Great Britain and Central America—a theme involving not merely immediate peace or war, but ultimately the continental ascendency of the Republic. The debate is instituted on the motion of the Committee on Foreign Relations. The chairman of that committee is Mr. James M.

Market of Victoria conther of the last and most victorial and Mr. Bayard of Delaware. Mason, of Virginia, author of the last and most notorious of the fugitive slave laws. The other tees of the Senate is unjust, because you have Slidell, of Louisiana, the same who has proposed a withdrawal of the naval squadron employed a suppressing the slave trade on the coast of in the "Committee on Pensions." pronounces the prohibition of Slavery forever contained in the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional; Mr. John B. Weller, of California,

The debate has ended while we have been canvassing the committee by which it was instituing conquerors of Kansas. This proposition of mean time, and while they necessarily left to the | the House of Representatives is epposed by the the rights and relations of all "persons," so far just now proposed to rescind that vote of the stew were to be affected by the action of the Senate which rather admitted than declared that Foderal Government which they were establish- the assault made by Preston S. Brooks, a Repre-"The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus sentative of South Carolina, in the Senate Chamnot be suspended, unless when, in case of ber, on Mr. Charles Sumner, a Senator of Masother effect that shall place, franking for circulation his declaration in memorials of the patriotism and valor of our anis with the terrors of disunion, if that acquiescence tion to the census." "The United States shall place, franking for circulation his declaration in memorials of the patriotism and valor of our anis with held; and he does all this with safety, as guaranty to every State in the Union a republi- favor of the slaveholders' candidate for the Pres-

usual equality. For although it embraces Mr. Clay, of Alabama, and Mr. Benjamin, of Louisiana, who are eminent champions of the rights of slaveholders, it nevertheless has for its other nembers Mr. Hamlin, the newly elected Governor of Maine, the very ultra opponent of the slaveholding class who is now addressing you, and Mr. Dodge, of Wisconsin, wno is its chair-The chairman votes against the slaveholding class, under the plea of instructions given him by the State which he represents. Mr. Hamlin was yet in full communion with the slavehold-ing Democracy when he was appointed to this committee, and my own place on it was assign-ed to me while as yet I was a National Whig,

and not as now a Republican.

The debates in the Senate interrupt us. Let is therefore forget them, and proceed with our examination of the constitution of its committees. The Committee on Manufactures seems to have been framed with decided impartiality. At its head is Mr. Wright of New Jersey, a supporter of the policy of the slaveholding class, while its other members are Mr. Allen of Rhode Island, a moderate opponent of the Nebraska and Kansas law, and Mr. Harlan of Iowa, Mr. cates of Freedom.

I admit a similar equality in the constitution abolish Slavery in six of the States where it al-abolish Slavery in six of the States where it al-ready existed, the people in the Revolutionary Congress effectually provided for excluding it forever in that part of the national domain which laid northwest of the Ohio, and in the States which were thereafter to be established with pleasure that equal liberality has been manifested in the organization of the Committee on the Militia. Its chairman is Mr. Houston, of Texas, and with him is associated Mr. Bell. a true representative of New Hampshire, as she was of old, is now, and always ought to be; and

these certainly are not overbalanced by Mr. Dodge of Wisconsin, Mr. Biggs of North Carolina, and Mr. Thompson of Kentucky.

I must nevertheless claim as a drawback on the magnanimity of the Senate, that these three last committees-namely, those "on Manufachave charge of public interests which have long firm in fifteen of the present thirty-one States, numbering 347,000 "persons," on the basis of 3,204,000 other "persons" held to labor or service by the laws thereof, valued at twelve hundred millions of dollars, combined practically with all the real estates in those States. This class spreads itself on the one bank of the Mississippi to the Kansas river, and on the other to any measures for the consideration of Congress.

On the other hand we see prudence, if not the Ohio, and along the Atlantic coast from the banks of the Delaware to those of the Rio Grande. In the States where this class exists, it is not fornia, Mr. Fitzpatrick of Alabama, Mr. Jones of Tennessee, Mr. Iverson of Georgia, and Mr. Jones of Tennessee, Mr. Iverson of Georgia, and Mr. Pratt of Maryland, all of whom favor the largest liberty to the slaveholding class; and to labor or service" by it, but to the inhibition of voluntary emancipation by the owners of slaves, to the practical exclusion of free labor. New Jersey, Mr. James of Rhode Island, all referent the State and with it freedom of states. liable supporters of that class, together with the independent, upright, and candid John Bell of

The slaveholding class is a careful gua dian of The slaveholding class is a careful gua dian of the Public Domain. Mr. Stuart, of Michigan, is and all its foreign relations. Its agents are class has become the governing power in each of the slaveholding States, and it practically chooses | He is, as you well know, of the opinion that the thirty of the sixty-two members of the Senate, and thirty-three agitation of Slavery is the prolific cause of the unhappy overthrow of Freedom in Kansas, and his associates are Mr. Johnson of Arkansas, Mr. Clayton of Delaware, Mr. Mallory of Florida, China, there is not one of these agents who has inety-five electors of President and Vice President of the United States. dent of the United States.

Let us now repair to the Federal Capital. You fully represents the ever-reliable freemen of Ver-

Mr. Benjamin, of Louisiana, presides over the guish the hundred cities of the free States, yet it is a respectable metropolis, rich in costly national structures, monuments, and gardens. This elegant and tasteful edifice is the palace of the President of the United States. Its incumbent, received the content of the United States. Its incumbent, received the content of the United States. Its incumbent, received the content of the United States. Its incumbent, received the content of the United States. Its incumbent, received the content of the United States. Its incumbent, received the content of the United States. Its incumbent, received the content of the United States and the content of the United States. Its incumbent, received the content of the United States are content of the United States. Its incumbent, received the content of the United States are content of the United States. Its incumbent, received the content of the United States are content of the United States. Its incumbent, received the content of the United States are content of the United States. Its incumbent, received the content of the United States are content of the United States.

Georgia, Mr. Brown of Mississippi, Mr. Reid of in all the States and Territories, are counted by North Carolina, and Mr. Bell of Tennessee.

dom-Mr. Wade of Ohio, and Mr. Fessenden of ships which carry on a trade, domestic and for-Maine-hold places on the Committee on Claims | eign, greater than that which any other nation ions, and he was therefore advanced to the Chief against the Government; but they are quite over- but one has ever maintained. All the national balanced by Mr. Brodhead of Pennsylvania, Mr. revenues are raised in such a way as to favor magnanimous, and successful military chief the country has produced.

Geyer of Missouri, Mr. Iverson of Georgia, and most the purely agricultural labor of slaves, and to afford the least impulse to the great wheel of

nearly domestic and municipal than any other of freemen. The custom houses and the public Department of the Government, and comes home to the business and bosoms of the whole people. mittee on the Post Office and Post Roads, and his associates are Mr. Yulee of Florida, Mr. with places in the public service. anced by Mr. Collamer of Vermont, and Mr. of a great edifice, faultlessly conforming to the

Durkee of Wisconsin.

No inconsiderate legislation favorable to free No inconsiderate legislation favorable to free-men must be allowed in the Senate, no consti-retary. He is charged with the ministerial part tutional legislation necessary to the security of of the administration of justice, with the dis-Slavery must be spared. The Committee on the position of the public lands, the construction of a Court of Impeachments it tries all political crimes committed by public agents, and as a legislative body its concurrence is necessary to the passage of all the laws of the Union. The age, experience, and dignity, of its members together.

Slavery must be spared. The Committee on the public lands, the construction of buildings, the granting of patents, and the payment of passage of all the laws of the Union. The age, we consist of Mr. Bayard of Delaware, Mr. Geyer of Missouri Mr. Toombs of Georgie, Mr. Toombs of Georgie, Mr. Toombs of Georgie Missouri, Mr. Toombs of Georgia, Mr. Toucey of Connecticut, and Mr. Pugh of Ohio. It was the Committee on the Judiciary which, in 1845, reported the bill for removing from the State class could be shaken by any miracle less the courts into the Federal courts private actions brought against Federal officers for injuries committed by them under color of their author-

of Columbia consists of Mr. Brown of Mississipng class in Kansas. When his duties in that pi, Mr. Pratt of Maryland, Mr. Mason of Virginia, relation called him away from the Capital, his place there was assigned to Jesse D. Bright, of Mr. Allen of Rhode Island.

Indiana. You know him also. He is accepta- The Committee on Territories has care of the ble and approved by the slave-property class, colonization, organization, and admission of new States, and so is in fact the most important of all the committees in the Senate. Mr. Douglas, of the chief of the Department itself, but also the At the feet of the presiding officer you see all the committees in the Senate. Mr. Douglas three Secretaries, while his chair is surrounded of Illinois, is its chairman, and his associates y printers, sergeants-at-arms, door-keepers, and are his willing supporters, Mr. Jones of Iowa, ages. Each of them is either an active or pas- Mr. Sebastian of Arkansas, Mr. Biggs of North Carolina, together with Mr. Bell of Tennessee, and the able and faithful Mr. Collamer of Ver-

Britain and Central America—a theme involving try must not be unduly directed to the prejudice

nembers are, Mr. Stephen A. Douglas, the found- not heard me mention the names of those disname of Popular Sovereignty, but now recog- Sumner of Massachusetts. Behold the places assigned to them! Mr. Hale graces the Com- ative, in this country or in Europe, has the mittees on "Revolutionary Claims" and on character been more successfully illustrated than "Public Buildings," and Mr. Sumner fills a seat it has been by the present Attorney General, in in the "Committee on Pensions." Do not think for a moment that I impeach the

who upholds the Executive Usurpation and con- will perceive at once that its representatives are who uphoids the Executive Compation and consequents in Kansas; and with these gentlemen is more than just—they are even liberal and general sociated one opponent of the slaveholding class, namely, my honorable and excellent columns of the slaveholding class, namely, my honorable and excellent columns of the slaveholding one to its adversaries. You shall decide the question for yourselves, when I shall have called not truthful, then let any one here, whatever the roll. Taking the admission of Kansas into may be his political bias or associations, point the Union, under the Topeka Constitution, as a out a single figure that is wrongly placed on the test, the classification of the Senate is as fol- canvass, or show a spot where the cold and pas lows: Rhode Island two voices for Slavery, Connecticut one, New Jersey one, Pennsylvania two, Delaware two, Maryland two, Virginia two, North Carolina two, South Carolina two, Georana two, Ohio one, Kentucky two, Tennessee two, Indiana one, Illinois one, Missouri one, Artwo, Indiana one, lilinois one, Missouri one, Arkansas two, Michigan two, Florida two, Texas two, lowa one, Wisconsin one, California one—in all, twenty-six States, giving forty-three voices of the power of that class, and the condition to for Slavery. For Freedom-Maine two, New which the cause of human nature has been re-Hampshire two, Vermont two, Massachusetts duced. In all the free States, the slaveholder two, Connecticut one, New York two, Ohio one, argues and debates the pretensions of his class

> it. We have crossed the Rotunda, so rich in cestors, and now we are in the Hall of Repre-

resentative of the Missouri borderers in Kansas, only expelled, and Reeder, the true representative of that Territory, rejected; a Speaker, faithful to justice and humanity, barely chosen by a plurality; an investigation into the atrocious crimes of Kansas barely sustained; a meager plurality vote for the admission of Kansas, under the Topeka Constitution, rendered half worthless by an embarrassment of the question with an incongruous vote for a reorganization of the Territorial Government; and an eight months struggle for the equal independence of the high seas, over cargoes of human merchanmonths struggle for the equal independence of Wilson of Massachusetts, and Mr. Trumbull of the House of Representatives, closed with a con-Illinois, three distinguished and effective advoby consenting to its dictation in a bill directing the supplies for the support of the civil authorities and the army of the United States.

Enough of the House of Representatives.
Come along with me, fellow-citizens. This pas-

sage, circuitous and descending, leads us into the chamber of the Supreme Court of the United to condole with and comfort him, we suddenly States. It is an imposing tribunal, a great conservative department of the Government. It regulates the administration of justice between citizens of the different States, and between worthless, but dangerous to ourselves. The nat-States themselves. Its members are independonor here. There is the statue of John Jay, the author of emancipation in New York. Alas, our imagination has quite deluded us. The court consists of a Chief Justice and eight Associate Justices. Of these, five were called from slave States, and four from free States. The opinions and bias of each of them were carefully considered by the President and Senate when he was appointed. Not one of them was ound wanting in soundness of politics, accordng to the slaveholder's exposition of the Contitution, and those who were called from the ree States were even more distinguished in that respect than their brethren from the slavehold-

We have thus completed our survey of the supreme authorities of the Republic. Let us now leave the Capitol, and look into the subordinate

lepartments.

In this modest edifice is the Department of State. It is the depository of the seals of the Republic. It directs and regulates the merely numbered by the hundred, and they are dispersed in all civilized countries throughout the world. From the chief here in his bureau to ever rebuked or condemned the extension or ag-grandizement of Slavery. There is not one who

the thousands. His wand contracts or opens Two representatives of the interests of Free- banks, and frees or embargoes the merce The Post Office in its transactions is more manufacture, which is turned only by the hands the elections, to procure votes for the slaveholdenjoyed by those whom it shall see fit to reward

A walk of half a mile brings us to the portice that which converted Saul of Tarsus, a perse

cutor of saints, into a preacher of righteousness Merely turning a short corner, we reach th General Post Office. This is the great domiciliary inquisition of the Government. It reaches, jealousy over the slaveholding Capital of the United States. The Committee on the District settlement, village, city, and State capital, in settlement, village, city, and State capital, in forest, prairie, mountain, and plain, among the lakes and rivers of our own country, and perwhole earth. There is not one, of its more than twenty thousand agents, who is false to the

own neighborhood.

A circuit of half a mile has now brought u o the Departments of "War" and the "Navy." Here two energetic and far-sighted minister brought from the slaveholding States, and dentified with their policy, wield the two great physical forces of the Republic, each ready, on receiving a despatch by telegraph, to subdue re-sistance to reclaimants of fugitive slaves in Bos-ton, to disfranchising statutes in Kansas, or to slave coursers on the high seas.

Finally, in the most unpretending of all the ublic edifices sits the Attorney General of the United States. It belongs to the office of an Attorney General to be a willing adviser and cun-ning executioner of the policy of the power by whom he was appointed. When or where, in all the memorable struggles of liberty with prerogholding class, and crush out its opponents in the

Fellow-citizens, you start with astonishment at the picture I have made, by simply bringing together well-known and familiar, but distant, sionless shadowing I have given to it ought to

You are impatient of my theme, but I canno release you yet. Mark, if you please, that thus far I have only shown you the mere governmental organization of the slaveholding class in the United States, and pointed out its badges of Illinois one, Iowa one-only nine States, giving and even prosecutes his claim for his slave be-Freemen of Michigan, I think I perceive that you are oppressed with the atmosphere of the Senate of the United States. I cheerfully leave and even threatens them, in their very homes. and even threatens them, in their very homes, with the terrors of disunion, if that acquiescence guaranty to every State in the Union a republican form of Government." "The right of the people to keep and hear arms shall not be infringed." "The right of the people to keep and hear arms shall not be infringed." "The right of the people to be secure in the Hall of Representatives consists of two hundred and thirty-three members, fillmore's scruples concerning the suspension in the new Fugitive Siave against unreasonable scarches and scizures, shall not be violated." They ordained "trial by jury."

In their persons, houses, papers, and effects, and now we are in the Hall of Representatives consists of two hundred and thirty-three members, fillmore's scruples concerning the suspension of the habeas corpus in the new Fugitive Siave against unreasonable scarches and scizures, shall not be violated." They ordained "trial by jury."

In the right of the people to keep and hear arms shall not be indeed; Mr. Crittenden, of Kentucky, the same identify. The House of Representatives consists of two hundred and thirty-three members, for the hundred and thirty-three members, for the people to with decorum, even in his most arrogant declamations, in the Halls of Congress. Through the effective sympathy of other property classes, the slaveholding power maintains with entire safety a press and permanent political organizations in all the free States.

This House virtually holds a controlling power members, fill the one of the saveholders candidate for the Presidency; Mr. Crittenden, of Kentucky, the same identify. The output of the bedone at all. He is listened to with decorum, even in his most arrogant declamations, in the Halls of Congress. Through the output of Congress. Through the output of Congress. Through the output of Congress and seizures, shall be of the people of the free States.

The House of Representatives constitutes. The House of Representatives of Congress. Through the output of Congress. Through the output of Congress and replied to with decorum, even in his most arrogant declamations, in the Halls of Cong over the Senate and the President, through its On the contrary, if you except the northern bor-

less on any vantage ground actually gained by surely than the resistants of military despotism and the spotted leopard into the sheep-fold. less on any vantage ground actually gained by the House of Representatives, than on a retreat safely effected from the late legislative contest, instead of an absolute capitulation. God knows that I do not undervalue the brave and true champions of Freedom who have honored humanity so long in the House of Representatives:

John Quincy Adams, Giddings, Thaddeus Stevens, Preston King, David Wilmot, John A. King, heretofore; and now, Grow, and Banks, and Burlingame, and Howard, and Sherman, and Morgan, and Colfax, and the Washburnes all. But I ask, nevertheless, what have we saved in this last, our only successful contest in the resistants of military despotism in the French Empire. Nor, except just now, has the case been much better, even in the free States. It is only as of yesterday, when the free States. It is only as of yesterday, when I rose, on request of citizens of Michigan, at Marshall, to speak of the great political questions of the day, I was enjoined not to make disturbance or to give offence by speaking of free soil, even on the ground which the Ordinance of 1787 had as yed to Freedom. It was only as of yesterday.

this last, our only successful contest in the House of Representatives? Whitfield, the representative of the Missouri borderers in Kansas, naries, built on Puritan foundations, vied with on the newly-revealed rocks towards which he has too long been carelessly drifting. It is not easy for the prodigal to look with contentment on the rags and husks which meet him as he retires from the house of his harlotry. Nevertheless, there is no way of escaping any immi-nent danger, without first calmly and steadily looking it fully in the face, and ascertaining its when the press, employed in the service of edu-cation and morality, expurgates from the books which are put into the hands of the young all reflections on Slavery. The day yet lasts when the flag of the United States flaunts defiance on the high seas, over cargoes of human merchan-dise. Nor is there an American representative real nature and magnitude.

Here again you will deny the justice of my parallels—you will claim to be merely innocent and unfortunate, and will upbraid the slavethe best legislator.

anywhere, in any one of the four quarters of the globe, that does not labor to suppress even there the discussion of American Slavery, lest it may possibly affect the safety of the slaveholding clasat home. If, in a generous burst of sympathy with the struggling Protestant Democracy of Europe, worthless, but dangerous to ourselves. The nat-ural and ancient order of things is reversed; ent of the Legislature and of the President, and it has the power of setting aside even laws and treaties, if it find them subversive of the Constitution of the United States. The court is just tution of the United States. The court is just the court is just the court is just the court is just the power of things is reversed; theories of Non-intervention and Popular Sovering and the absolute obligation of tyran-inical laws enacted by armed usurpation? Your own Cass, and Douglas, and Pierce, and Buttering the court is just the court is just the court is just the court is just the act organizing it a Territory; the recognical inical laws enacted by an inical laws enacted by an inical laws enacted by a Legislature constituted by a Leg opened for the business of the day. How fitly does the proclamation of its opening close with the invocation, "God save the United States and the slaveholding class alone secures preferment the invocation, the slaveholding class alone secures preferment to the slaveholding society in the slaveholding class alone secures preferment to the slaveholding society in the slaveholding class alone secures preferment to the slaveholding society in the slaveholding slaveholding society in the slaveholding slaveholding slaveholding slaveholding slaveholding slaveholding slaveholding slaveholdin the slaveholding class alone secures preferment into Kansas? The non-slaveholding society in one hand, of murder and rapine, with not even the invocation, "God save the United States and the slaveholding class alone secures preterment this honorable court." See, also, how the memories of the benefactors of mankind are held in Franklin, and Hamilton, and Jay, and King, are
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ories of the benefactors of mankind are held in Franklin, and Hamilton, and Hamilto unprized-

> "till they learn to betray, Undistinguish'd they live, if they shame not their sires, And the torich that would light them to dignity's way, Must be caught from the pile when their country expires In this course of rapid public demoralization.

what wonder is it that the action of the Government tends continually with fearfully augmenting force to the aggrandizement of the slave-holding class? A Government can never be bet-sary exercise of the right of self-defence, any-justly and significantly headed with the inscrip ter or wiser, or even so good or so wise as the people over whom it presides? Who can wonder, then, that the Congress of the United States, in 1820, gave to Slavery the west bank of the Mississippi quite up to the present line of Kansas, and have most muscular strength. Least of all is it was content to save for Freedom, out of the vast to be won by retaliation and revenge. The vicregion of Louisiana, only Kansas and Nebraska? tory will be to those who shall practice the high- what are we to attribute the restless and inse region of Louisiana, only Kansas and Nebraska? Who can wonder that it consented to annex and admit Texas, with power to subdivide herself into five slave States, so as to secure the slavehold-standing all the heroism of your champions in the land, but to the principles of humanity and justice. Notwith-standing all the heroism of your champions in garded? What else is done by such legislation may be disregarded? What else is done by such legislation may be disregarded? ing class a balance against the free States then expected to be ultimately organized in Kansas and Nebraska? Who can wonder, that when this shall win the President and the Congress in this annexation of Texas brought on a war with great National Canvass. Even although every Mexico, which ended in the annexation of Up- one of these champions should perish in h per California and New Mexico, every foot of which was free from African Slavery, Congress and the tide of oppression will be rolled back divided that vast Territory, reluctantly admitting from our Northern plains, if a President and a China, there is not one of these agents who has cause she would not consent to establish Slavery, dismembered New Mexico, transferred a large grandizement of Slavery. There is not one who does not even defend and justify it. There is not one who does not maintain that the flag of with Utah, should be received as slave States, if the United States covers with its protection the the people thereof should so demand? Who such injustice as to deny that great allowances of the principles in which it shares; hence, the United States covers with its protection the slaves of the slaveholding class on the high seas.

In the majestic pile behind this unique but graceful colonnade, sits the Secretary of the Treasury. He manages the revenues and expenditures of the United States, and guards and improves their sources, commerce, and the public land the Secretary of the process of the United States, and guards and improves their sources, commerce, and the public land the same time menaced the European Powers with war if they should iso demand? Who can wonder that the President, without any reproductive that the President, without any reproductive the form one, I am quite sensitive to the truth that serible. We inherited complicity with the seribled. We inherited complicity with the seribled. We inherited complicity with the same of Cuba, that it might be divided into two slaveholding States, to be admitted as members of the Federal Union, and at the same time menaced the European Powers with war if they should interfere to wretten that the President, without any reproductive to the truth that seribled. We inherited complicity with the seribled. We inherited complicity with the seribled. We inherited complicity with the seribled. We inherited complication I have described. We inherited complicity with the seribled. We inherited complicity with the seribled. We inherited complicity with the surface of the form one, I am quite sensitive to the truth that we ought to support papers that vindicate principles of ciples of equity and justice to all men. As such injustice as to deny that great allowances for one, I am quite sensitive to the truth that we ought to support papers that vindicate principles in which it shares; hence, for one, I am quite sensitive to the truth that we ought to support papers that vindicate principles in which it shares; hence, for one, I am quite sensitive to the truth that we ought to support papers that vindicate principles in which it shares; hence, for one, I am quite sensitive to the truth that we ought Government, in the form of an aristocracy, or a despotism. The mere mention of the names of Switzerland, Venice, France, (her various alternations being remembered.) Great Britain, and Russia, fornishes all needful illustrations of these positions. Human nature and the physical elements of society are every-

> the slaveholding class, when it had obtained the sanction of Congress to that reprisal, by giving tion. If we have inherited prejudices of caste, a pledge that the people of those Territories | we have also risen to the knowledge that politicould be perfectly free nevertheless to estab- cal safety is dependent on the rendering of equal lish Freedom therein, invaded the Territory of and exact justice to all men. And if we have Kansas with armed forces, inaugurated an usurp-suffered our love for the Union to be abused so ation, and established Slavery there, and dis- as to make us tolerate the evils that more than ranchised the supporters of Freedom by tyran-nical laws, enforced by fire and sword, and that the President and Senate maintain and uphold who had erected a noble edifice, sit down inactthe slaveholding interests in these culminating emonstrations of their power, while the House demonstrations of their power, while the House of Representatives lacks the power, because it down over his head, or one who had built a manual treatment of their power, because it down over his head, or one who had built a manual treatment of the power, because it down over his head, or one who had built a manual treatment of the power, because it down over his head, or one who had built a manual treatment of the power, because it down over his head, or one who had built a manual treatment of the power, because it down over his head, or one who had built a manual treatment of the power, because it down over his head, or one who had built a manual treatment of the power, because it down over his head, or one who had built a manual treatment of the power had been and treatment is wanting in the virtue, to rescue the interests of fustice, Freedom, and Humanity? Who can won- that he might peradventure run it upon the vania subvert the State tribunals, and pervert the habeas corpus, the great writ of Liberty, into preserving this Union, but also under the restrue into contempt, punishable by imprison-ment without bail or mainprize, the simple and of this last responsibility involves the chief peril truthful denial of personal control over a fugi-tive female slave, who has made her own volun-tary escape from bondage? Who can wonder apologies for continued demoralization. that in Kansas lawyers may not plead or juries | question now to be decided is, whether a slavebe empannelled in the Federal Courts, nor can even citizens vote, without first swearing to supeven citizens vote, without first swearing to sup-port the Fugitive Slave Law and the Kansas and Nebraska act, while citizens who discuss through the press the right of slaveholders to domineer Catholics, native-born or exotic citizens. And the press the right of slaveholders to domineer there, are punished with imprisonment or death; free bridges over which citizens who advocate trials of strength between the native-born and

for nuisances; and those who peacefully assem-ble to debate the grievances of that class, and Just now, the wind sets with some apparen steadiness in the North, and you will readily growing aggrandizement of the slaveholding class, but you will nevertheless insist that that class, but you will nevertness insist that that aggrandizement is now and may be merely temporary and occasional. A moment's reflection, you will admit that he is a true representative porary and occasional. A moment's reflection, you will admit that he is a however, will satisfy you that this opinion is of the Cause of Freedom. profoundly untrue. What is now seen is only the legitimate maturing of errors unresisted try and all its parts, and bearing an affection through a period of more than thirty years. All even to the slaveholding class, none the less he fearful evils now upon us are only the inev- sincere because it repels me, I cordially adopt itable results of efforts to extinguish, by delays, the motto which it too often hangs out to delude

What, then, is the tendency of this aggrandize ment of the slave interest, and what must be its mediate consequences are distinctly in view. The admission of Kansas into the Union as a slave State, the subsequent introduction of Slavery by means equally flagrant into Nebraska, and the admission of Utah with the twin patriarchal institutions of legalized Adultery and Slavery, and these three achievements crowned with the incorporation of Cuba into the Republerrory with protecting folds: and that other Beyond these visible fields lies a region of fearful speculation — the restoration of the the body of the Co African slaye trade, and the desceration of all ful and immortal. Mexico and Central America, by the infliction upon the half-civilized Spanish and Indian races dwelling there, by our hands, of a curse from which, inferior as they are to ourselves, they have had the virtue once to redeem themselves. Beyond this area last surveyed lies that of civil and servile wars, national decline and-suin.

I fear to open up these distant views, because I know that you will attribute my apprehensions to a morbid condition of mind. But confining nyself to the immediate future which is so fear fully visible, I ask you in all candor, first, whether I have ever before exaggerated the aggrand-izement of the slaveholding class. Secondly, whether the movement that I now forbode i really more improbable than the evils once seem d, which are now a startling reality.

vented? Do you expect that those who have heretofore counselled compromise, acquiescence, and submission, will change their course, and come to the rescue of Liberty? Even if this were a reasonable hope, are Cass, and Douglas abate its pretensions, and practice voluntarily the moderation which you wish, but dare not demand

prohibited "excessive bail and excessive fines, and "received to the States and to the people all the powers of Government not expressly delegated to the United States."

Among these broad and comprehensive reservations of liberty, only two inferior and guarded stipulations were made with the slaveholding class and to the United States. The Senate needs but little time on a question of liberty, only two inferior and guarded stipulations were made with the slaveholding class manely, that "no person held to service of alabor in one State, under the laws thereof, or labor in one State, under the laws thereof in the laborate state of the laborate state in the Senate had the President, through its der of Delaware, there is nowhere in any slare-holding class. On the contrary, if you except the northern bording the o

holding class as the builders of this impending ruin. But you cannot escape so. The fault is not at all with that class, but with yourselves, not at all with the with yourselves. are recreant to their own constitutions and false large number of those who have been mo the People of Michigan.
You admit all this, and you ask how are

these great evils, now so apparent, to be corrected—these great dangers, now so manifest, to proper field, yet the Rights of Man will be saved, Congress shall be chosen who are true to Freedon The People, and the People only, are sovereign and irresistible, whether they will the ascendency

Nebraska, not on the ground of justice or for an ances have created influences upon our political equivalent, but simply on the ground that the conduct, which are rather to be deplored than original concession of them to Freedom was extorted by injustice and unconstitutional oppression by the free States? Who can wonder that all others endanger it, we have discerned that ively in its hall, avoiding all duty and enterjestic vessel, moor it to the wharf, through fear We have learned at last that the American peo sponsibility of making it subserve the advance-ment of Justice and Humanity, and that neglect

I shall waste little time on the newly-invented apologies for continued demoralization. The therefore it seems to me that this is no time for free institutions, may pass, free taverns where they may rest, and free presses through which they may speak, are destroyed under indictments

As little shall I dwell on merely personal par ble to debate the grievances of that class, and tialities or prejudices affecting the candidates petition Congress for relief, are indicted for high for public trusts. Each fitly personates the cause he represents. Beyond a chanan is faithful to the slaveholding class, as Mr. Fillmore vacillates between it and its opponents. I know Mr. Fremont well; and when our Treasury of seventy-five millions of money, I say that I know that he combines extraordinary genius and unquestionable sincerity of Discarding sectionalism, and loving my coun-

concession, and compromises, a discussion to us. I know no North, no South, no East, and which Justice, Reason, and Humanity, are continan acceptable sacrifice in the present crisis must conform himself to the divine instructions, that neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth. leprosy with protecting folds; and that other and better conservatism, that heals, in order that the body of the Commonwealth may be health-Fellow-citizens, I am aware that I have sp

ken with seriousness amounting to solemnity. Do not infer from thence that I am despondent or distrustful of present triumph and ultimate regeneration. It has required a strong pressure upon the main-spring of the public virtue to awaken its elasticity. Such pressure has reached the centre of the spring at last. They who have reckoned that its elasticity was lost, are now discovering their profound mistake. The people of the United States have dallied long with the acactus, and floated carelessly on the calm seas that always reflect summer skies, but they have not lost their preference for their own changeless fleur de lis, and they consult no other guidance, in their course over the waters, than that of their own bright, particular, and con-How are these immediate evils, and whatever of greater evils that are behind them, to be pre-

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EXTRACTS FROM OUR LETTERS.

Poughkeepsie, Dec. 30, 1856 .- The fact is, we need, and must have, a paper at Washing- thought he would live but a very short to ton that will not bow down to the Moloch of the seat of Government, that "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people." One would think that a majority of It is believed that onions, applied faithfully our Senators had never heard the adage, that in a similar manner, may be a remedy for the "Honesty is the best policy," or if they have, that they regard it in the same category of vaunted self-evident truths to which they refer

As very much damage has been done, as some of them, with amusing self complacency, of the bite of a mad dog upon man or be

stigmatize as a "self-evident lie." Legislation in our country seems to be fast approaching to the degraded condition of system of tricks; and the most successful trickster is, in many quarters, coming to be regarded

The slaveholders only act according to their the principle which that term implies has non-slaveholding classes in the free States who never for a moment been entertained by a very lusty in their support of the measures which to their own instincts and impulses, and even to their own true interests. Who taught the slaveholding class that Freedom, which could not whole system of measures relating to Kansas be wholly conquered at once, could be yielded in successive halves by successive compromises? Who taught the slaveholding class the specious theories of Non-intervention and Popular Sove- men, who had gone to Kansas in harmony with wretch has been followed with a lash of scor pions-these, with other considerations, would seem sufficient to crown with historical infamy the names of those men who have participated be avoided. I answer, it is to be done, not as some of you have supposed, by heated debates sustained by rifles or revolvers at Washington,

The monument that should be raised nor yet by sending armies with supplies and in commemoration of the legislative and execu-

tion than to educate and encourage men to make unreasonable demands? And these demands come to conflict on all sides what conservative power shall remain in a Gov ernment that has set the worst example of po litical infidelity? Among the conservative agencies, the mos

powerful, doubtless, is an enlightened public sentiment. But public sentiment is in great measure an effect, which may be truly regarded

Shenandoah Co., Va., Jan. 16, 1857 .- I really think, if the non-slaveholders of Shenandoah cease to co-operate with the Slavery Oligarchy, to proscribe what they please to call an " Abo itionist," or, in other words, a "Black Repub-

ticket. My life was threatened on the evening of the general election, in Woodstock, and my name cast out for evil in some of the Valley papers. But, notwithstanding all this, I have gained true friends by taking so decided a stand in the great and good Republican cause. I feel encouraged to press forward in advocating the Republican principles, and truly wish you God speed in the great and good cause of Liberty and Freedom, for which our noble ancestors have bled and died. You have nobly acquitmerit the good wishes of the American people.

Beloit, Wis., Jan. 7, 1857 .- We have beer very much amused, as well as edified, by your extracts from Southern editorials, and they will be continued. It is ridiculous to hear those men crying fanatic, fanaticism, whilst they are themselves indulging in such crazy vagaries; as though the growth of commercial cities depended upon the resolutions of a few hundred windy politicians—the Sir Oracles of plantation life, and the braggarts of small towns; or, as though the spasmodic efforts of these idle gentlemen could in the slightest degree hinder the progress of millions of industrious, enterpri with non-slaveholding citizers. It concerns all sing, and well-educated freemen, in their march toward wealth, intelligence, and political power.

> Congressional Correspondence. Gilroy, Santa Clara county, Cal., Dec. 17.

1856 .- As one of that class by the honorable usually denominated "my dear constituents," I wish to record my protest against that Border Ruffian act, by which members of the present Congress voted money into their own pockets. They virtually agreed to serve their constituents for eight dollars per day. When they arrived at Washington, after emptying after squandering millions of acres of the nacompanies, Tom, Dick, and Harry-after refusing to set the seal of condemnation upon one of the most gigantic frauds and bare faced villanies ever perpetrated in any country this side the dark ages—after trampling in the dust the liberties of the free settlers of Kansas, and laying their towns in ashes-after doing all this, they come to the conclusion that eight dollars per day is too little for so much work.

The constituent is pretty warm, but it is some consolation to know that absenteeism is almost tual in attendance. Besides, the proposition now is, to punish voluntary absenteeism at the rate of \$25 per day .- Ed. Era.

Republicanism in Illinois. Springfield, Ill., Jan. 14, 1857 .- I was pres ent here on Monday, the 12th inst., at the inauguration of the Republican State officers.

The Old Line Democracy had had control o the Capitol so long, that they appeared to think their dispossession a mere farce, and that in a few days they would again be permitted to resealed. Republicanism will continue to grow stronger and stronger in Illinois, until the ma-jorities for Freedom and Free Soil, rolled up by the Young Giantess of the West, will be equal to those of the Empire State in the last election. The Republican party in this State is much

stronger now than it was at the November election. Many of the Fillmore men acknowledge that they were deceived by their leaders, else they would have voted for Fremont. Windham, Portage Co., O., Jan. 21, 1857.

I send you an account of a remedy for poisons, which I think worthy to be published throughout the world. Very respectfully, yours, &c., LUTHER HUMPHREY.

Raw Onions a Cure for Various Poisens. This remedy has been effectually tried for the stings of bees, wasps, and hornets, with good success. Take an onion, and cut it horizontally, and immediately apply it to the wounded part, rubbing it thoroughly; and, when no ly, and immediately apply it to the wounded part, rubbing it thoroughly; and, when no more juice will come from the onion, cut again, and apply until the pain ceases. In most cases, if the application is made immediately after the infliction of the sting, there will be no swelling. If the swelling has already commenced, the process of rubbing must be longer continued. In case of a severe awelling, it may be necessary to bruise the onion, and apply as a poultice, so as more than to cover the tumor. The poultice should be often renewed until the Prepared by Dr. J. C. AYER, Lowell, Massachusetts, Prepared by Dr. J poultice should be often renewed until the swelling subsides.

Cure for the Bits of a Rattlesnake. A case: About forty years ago, a lad, by the name of Thomson, who resided in Middlefield, name of Thomson, who resided in Middlefield, Geauga county, Ohio, was bitten by a rattle-

snake, on the end of his heel. The consequence was, that in a short time he became very much swollen, deaf, and blind, and his attendants Onions were bruised, and applied plentifully Slavery, nor suffer, without remonstrance and a poultice, to the wound, and in five minu emergetic resistance, his infatuated devotees to commit to his embrace our infant States. We was perceptibly better. The application was renewed at short intervals, and finally applications. want the doctrine proclaimed continually at plied to his whole body. He recovered, and

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